

Social Capital and Social Inequalities in Educational Attainment.

Evidence from a Swedish Cohort

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One of the more persistent links in the social stratification of modern societies goes between parents' education and education of the offspring. In most Western societies, education is also strongly related to status attainment, together creating a self-perpetuating fence guarding diplomas and wealth (Jencks et al. 1972; Kohn 1977; Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992; Shavit and Blossfeld 1993). Current research imply complex, time and context specific relations between determinants such as parents' education, parents' class belonging, the economic conditions of the family etc. (Erikson and Jonsson, 1996). The role of family relations, teaching style and parent-school interaction is increasingly acknowledged. This suggests a more micro-oriented approach to social differences in education, and has left room for theories on social capital in the realm of education research. The one conceptualization of social capital perhaps most frequently cited or applied by education researchers and sociologists is that of Coleman (1988), which was created to deal with the role of social capital in the creation of human capital. In our interpretation of his work, we understand the main sources of social capital of importance for educational achievement to be the relations between children and parents (and other family members if any), the relations among parents, as well as relations between parents and the community's institutions. Within this framework, it is clear parenting practices such as parental involvement in the child's school work and parent-school connectivity can be fitted under the concept of social capital.

Evidence of a positive relation between parental involvement and schooling outcomes has formed an argument for policy-makers and educators to put more efforts into encouraging parental involvement. Several studies have shown mediating effects of commonly used indicators of social capital such as parental aspirations, family structure, parent-school connectivity, and help with homework on the relation between financial and human capital and educational outcomes (see e.g. Astone and McLanahan 1991; McNeal Jr 1999; Useem

1992). Greater parental involvement has been suggested to foster more positive attitudes towards school, reduce dropping out and truancy, and enhance achievement (Jenkins 1995; Bogenschneider 1997; Ho and Willms 1996; Beaulieu et al. 2001; Steinberg et al. 1992). Results from studies on children from less advantaged family backgrounds indicate that commitment to and success in school among children is related to deliberate efforts on the part of parents to encourage their children and infuse discipline and good study habits (Clark 1983; Dearing et al. 2004; Furstenberg and Hughes 1995; Lauglo 2000; Crosnoe, Mistry and Elder 2002). For schools and policy-makers the promotion of parental involvement by all parents, and thereby the enhancement of the dispersal of social capital, would be a way to attempt to equalize children's opportunities. One concern is that a main underlying difference in the diffusion and positive effects of social capital is structured by parents' own level of education. This association would have several implications for how we view the relation between social capital and achievement. For one, it would show in a structurally uneven frequency of parental involvement. As pointed out by Lareau (1987), the type of family-school interactions promoted by schools may be biased against working-class parents who have less possibility to comply with expectations to participate in school events and help their children with homework etc., due to e.g. less flexible working hours and less knowledge of school practices. Second, parents' level of education may influence their choice of involvement strategies and their response to the child's actions and performance (Baker and Stevenson 1994; Hoover-Dempsey et al. 2001), resulting in different involvement patterns in families with different educational traditions or cultures. Third, the different returns that children may draw from their or their parents' social capital could at least partly be explained by differences in human capital (Desimone, 2001; Lareau and Horvat 1999; McNeal 1999). Lin (2001) has labeled the process whereby members of different social groups can yield different return from similar capital input 'return deficit'. This implies that there is reason to

focus not only on differences in the social capital available to the child, but on how returns from social capital are structured by underlying factors.

We attempt to evaluate this relation between social capital and educational achievement during the mid school years in the light of parents' level of human capital. Three questions are addressed: (1) Are parents with a higher education differently involved in their children's schooling compared to parents with less education? (2) How do school-related parenting practices relate to children's educational achievement? (3) Is the relation between parenting practices and educational achievement modified by parents' level of education? In addition, we will include parents' assessment of their relation to the child in an attempt to bring the qualitative or affective context in which the actions of involvement are undertaken into consideration, listening to the arguments brought forward by e.g. Astone and McLanahan (1991).

Previous efforts made to assess to what extent the benefits of parental involvement are structured by e.g. parents' level of education show interesting though inconsistent results. For example, Bogenschneider (1997) shows that although lower educated parents are less involved, their involvement when they are involved is as potent as higher educated parents', as regards involvements association with grades. In McNeal's study (1999) of the influence of social capital on behavioral and cognitive outcomes for adolescents, results indicate that single parents, minority parents, and lower-SES parents get less for their involvement at comparable levels of involvement. In a study by Baker and Stevenson (1986) it was found that although mothers of different educational background suggest similar involvement strategies, mothers with higher education implement more strategies and are better managers of their children's school career. The argument that parental involvement and involvement

returns for the child may be structured by human capital is not only a theoretical concern, but is also of methodological importance. Coleman points to this in his 1988 study where he suggests that in order to statistically capture the complementary relation between human capital and social capital we should allow the two to interact (1988, footnote on p110). Still, in a great number of papers where parents' level of human capital is considered, it is included simply as a control variable. We will allow our social capital indicators to interact with parents' level of human capital. We will look mainly at two parenting activities that can be said to be involvement measures, namely help with homework and parents' meeting attendance. We would argue that they are of specific interest since in comparison to other elements of parental involvement such as educational aspirations or parent-child discussion as they are more readily able to target for schools and policy-makers. However, there remains the important issue of what these two measures are actually capturing? For example, what do we assume when we investigate the effects of homework help? Should we expect a positive influence on the child's achievement or should we expect homework help to coincide with underachievement because it is mainly a reactive strategy from the side of the parents (Epstein, 1988)? Are parents' meetings a way of plainly sharing information of what goes on in school (Coleman, 1988) or are they an arena where the teachers and the educated parents embark on their mutual journey, pushing others off the boat (Lareau, 1987)? These questions do have implications for how we should phrase our hypotheses and what policy recommendations can be brought forward. Often are innumerable and substantially different measures of parental involvement applied in our models, and although many studies show consistent effects of parental involvement generally (Fehrmann, Keith, and Reimers, 2001) it is not difficult to find results that contradict the findings for a specific measure of parental involvement. So what we get are general conclusions that "relations matter" but less attention

is given to how parents base their decisions on involvement and what outcomes we can expect from it.

We look at the influence of these social capital resources on children's change in school grades between the sixth and the final ninth year of compulsory school. School achievement in these years has important influence on future life chances of the children as grades in the final year of compulsory school is a selection mechanism to future education.

DATA AND METHOD

The empirical data stem from the Project Metropolitan cohort panel, which is a Swedish study on Stockholm-inhabitants born in 1953. The Project Metropolitan cohort panel consists of 15,117 individuals registered as residents of the Stockholm metropolitan area on November 1, 1963. Until they reached their thirties, their life situation was repeatedly assessed through standardized interviews and surveys, as well as through data in public files. This cohort, born in the 1950s, can be called Sweden's first welfare state generation, growing up in a time of increased standard of living, low unemployment rate and raised housing standard. In the period from 1950 to the 1970s, which covers the schooling years of our cohort, the education system was reformed repeatedly, moving from an elite-type to a more egalitarian system (Janson 1995).

The main sources of information used in this study are local lists of school grades from comprehensive school and the 'Family study', i.e. interviews with custodians performed in 1968. This study utilizes data only on those 4,021 individuals who were selected for the Family study. The Family study consists of interviews concerning issues such as family

interaction, social position, educational background, views on upbringing and education etc. (Janson 1995). Interviews were performed with a stratified sub sample of cohort members' custodians, mainly mothers. Mothers of cohort members who did poorly or very well on the mental capacity test performed in the 1966 'School study' were overrepresented by the original design, and so the data are weighted to account for this. The number of individuals in the final analysis is around 3,100, mainly due to non-response in the Family study (nine percent) and data missing on school grades. In the 1960s, children were sorted into different classes during their final year in comprehensive school, depending on whether they intended to go to high school or not.¹

Our dependent variable is mean grades in the ninth and final year of compulsory school, i.e. 1969. Grades varied between 1 and 5, with 5 as the top score. There was an explicit intent from policy-makers that these grades be normally distributed on the national level with a mean of 3. In our analysis the mean grades have been multiplied by 100, so mentioning an effect of e.g. 10 points is in reality a result on the first decimal level.

Human capital is measured as parents' education level, and is based on information from the Family study interviews. We have dichotomized the variable into neither parent has a high school degree or at least one parent has high school degree. The majority of parents do not have a high school degree, which means their formal education is at level with or below the education their child receives between sixth and ninth grade.

The indicators of social capital we use in this study cover several perspectives on the form and functions of this phenomenon. Whether the child lived in a two parent or single mother

¹ A small group of children was earlier placed in special classes due to handicap or misbehavior. The grade system was the same for all children and, since we only analyze grades we do not need to control for these selections to different school classes.

family is a rough indicator of the possibility of social capital – adult presence being a precondition for adult attention. With regard to social capital relations within the family, we have chosen parents’ help with homework as one indicator. Our measure of homework help is based on the question “Do you usually help him/ her with homework by testing, e.g.?” and the same question concerning the father. The possible answers, ranging from “very often” to “hardly ever” have been dichotomized into at least one parent helping very often or often and other answers.² We use attendance in parents’ meetings as an indicator of social capital drawn from the parent-school connection. The measure of parents’ meeting attendance is based on the question “Have you been to a parents’ meeting this school year and, if so, have you been more than once?”. The same question was asked for the father, and possible answers were “no”, yes, once” and “yes, more than once” which have been dichotomized into “no” and “yes” if any parent had attended a parent-teacher meeting. In the following, when we discuss parental involvement, we will be referring to homework help and parents’ meeting attendance.

The variable measuring a qualitative aspect of the available social capital is based on the custodian’s evaluation of the relation between parent and child. This stems from a question asking ”How would you appreciate the relation between you and your son/ daughter?” The possible answers were; “unusually good”, “fairly good”, “neither good nor bad”, “rather bad”, and “not good”. This question is also put regarding the other parent’s relation to the child. Answers have been compressed into two categories: “very good” when both parents were having an unusually good relation and “not very good” for all other answers³.

² The difference between the categories, for example, “often” and “very often” is of course not clear. It is a matter of, for example, parents’ attitudes and children’s abilities, factors in turn influenced by, for instance, social class and education. By putting the cut-point between “often” and “now and then” we hope to optimize our effort to form a group of parents spending a substantial time helping their children with home work. If we drew the line more strict, only including parents answering “very often”, it would give us too small groups when we create combination variables including help with home work and parent child relation.

³ As 63 percent of the mothers claimed they had an “unusually good” relation to the child and 36 percent a “rather good” we were more or less, by data, forced to make the cut-off between these two answers. There are also reasons to believe that mothers tend to underestimate bad relations to their children. They might for instance

We have included mean grades in sixth year of compulsory school (i.e. in 1966) as an independent variable, which means our model measures change of grades between sixth and ninth year. One reason for specifying such a model, known as the regressor variable method (Allison 1990) is what is usually called “regression to the mean” first experienced by Galton (1886) by which is meant that the probability is greater for a person with a high initial value to have a lower value at a second measurement than for a person with a low initial value. This trend is evident in our data. The statistical reasons to include initial values have however been debated (Liker et al. 1985). We have reasons to include initial values if a causal link between initial values and subsequent changes in values can be expected. Since we cannot rule out that previous grades causally affect changes in grades we will include sixth year mean grades in our model with mean grades ninth year as dependent variable. Another feature of the regressor variable method is that only such invariant variables should be included that are expected to influence change. Including sex and ability test scores can be valid since these variables do seem to influence change.

Lastly, our social capital measures are from the Family study of 1968 and are measured at one point in time, although asking retrospectively whether parents *usually* help with homework or whether they have attended parents’ meetings *in the last year*. Also, by including mean grades in sixth grade as an independent variable, we can study the influence of these parental practices on the change in grades, regardless of prior effects on grade level.

be ashamed of conflicts in the home. Thus we consider every answer except “very good” as an indicator of a not so good relation.

RESULTS

Descriptives and explanations of differences in social capital

Table 1 shows the distribution of children and their families on the variables described above for the full sample and by the parents' level of education. In the group with a high school degree and in that without high school degree, the proportion of single mothers was similar. A significantly higher share of parents with high school degrees helped their children with homework and attended parents' meetings. The proportion of parents who reported a very good relation to their child was a bit higher (not significant) in the group that had a high school degree. Children whose parents had a high school degree tended to have higher average grades in both ninth and sixth year. Eyeballing these results we can also see a slight downward trend between sixth and ninth year, especially for the children whose parents didn't have a high school degree. The mental ability test score means differ quite substantially between the two groups. Boys and girls are equal in proportion in both groups.

<Table 1 about here >

As seen above, parental involvement and quality of the parent-child relation do seem to have differed along parents' level of education. We conducted a further investigation of this link by regressing level of parents' education on homework help, parents' meeting attendance and quality of parent-child relation respectively, controlling for child's sex, mean grades in 6th year, and marital status of the parent (*Table 2*). Whereas we detected no influence of human capital on the quality of the parent-child relation, its importance for the propensity to give much homework help and attend parent's meetings is confirmed in the regressions. We could explain this by claiming that parents with high school degrees were more prone to be involved, due to their capacity based on higher education and education tradition, or that they were

more obedient to calls for involvement from authorities. But as suggested by Lareau (1987) and Muller (1995), we could also interpret this relationship as suggesting that level of education was related to other resources that made greater involvement possible, such as more flexible working hours, higher income etc. The negative relation between being a single mother and the two involvement measures does indicate that such resources may have been of importance. We also see that single mothers were more likely to have a very good parent-child relation compared to couples. The same result has been found in other research, perhaps indicating that single parents find a confidant in their child when there is no other adult at hand (Astone and McLanahan, 1991).

<Table 2 about here>

The influence of previous performance (mean grades in the 6th year) on our social capital indicators seem inconsistent. While negative on parents' help with homework, i.e. the higher mean grades the less help, higher mean grades also seem to have increased parents' propensity for parents' meeting attendance and to report a very good parent-child relation. We interpret the negative influence on homework help to be a sign of quite rational behavior from the parents' side: perhaps parents use homework help mainly as a response to a perceived need in the child for more help or perceived previous under-achievement. More difficult to explain would be the motivation for parents of children who have been performing well to attend parents' meetings. An interpretation can be that they simply visit the meetings because they are proud of or satisfied with their children's performance. Finally, the popular opinion that teenage girls have more difficult relations to their parents compared to boys is confirmed in our data.

Human and social capital and change in mean grades

In our first baseline model (Table 3) we study the influence of parents' level of education on gains in mean grades from sixth to ninth year of compulsory school when controlling for sex, performance in a sixth grade mental ability test and mean grades in sixth year. As grades and mental ability were strongly related, having both high scores on the mental ability test and high 6th year grades, we have also included an interaction term with these two variables. The influence of human capital was rather strong: children whose parents had a high school degree tended to have 13 points greater gains compared with children whose parents had not gone to high school. In the second model of Table 3 we have included social capital indicators of parental involvement, having a single mother and parent-child relation quality. Parent human capital is included as a control alongside previous controls. The influence of parents' level of education remains largely unaltered from the previous model, indicating that our measures of social capital do not catch the mechanisms, hidden under the label of human capital, that mediate school performance between generations. Having a single mother was related to a small negative change. The indicators of parental involvement do not seem to have influenced gains, but a very good parent-child relation does seem to have been related to increased gains.

< Table 3 about here >

In order to investigate the role of human capital in structuring the returns that the child may make from parental involvement we create combinations of our measure of parents' human capital with social capital indicators of parental involvement. The picture becomes somewhat more complicated. Table 4 presents the results from four different regression models. For ease of interpretation only the coefficients for each group formed by level of parental education and extent of parental involvement are presented. In the first column the dependent variable is

regressed on a combination of parents' education and homework help or parents' meeting attendance respectively, sex, having a single mother, mean grades in 6th year, scores on the mental capacity test and the interaction term of the two latter. Our reference category is the group where parents have not finished high school and the respective parental involvement indicator is at its low. In the second column of Table 4, we have elaborated the combinations of parental education and parental involvement by adding quality of the parent-child relation⁴.

< Table 4 about here >

First it is still obvious that human capital had a strong impact on children's change in grades. Independent of the extent of homework help and parents' meeting attendance, children in the high school groups generally have higher gains in mean grades compared to children whose parents did not go to high school.

Whether parents helped much with homework does not seem to have had an effect for children of parents without high school degree. For children in the high school group, much help with homework does seem to have influenced gains somewhat positively, although when testing this relationship separately it was not significant (Prob F > 0.09)⁵. Given the lack of influence of homework help in the group where parents didn't have a high school degree, this could be interpreted to mean that there was indeed a 'return deficit' for these parents. Their

⁴ In all models mean grades in sixth year of course exerted a very strong influence over mean grades in ninth year. The higher grades a child received in sixth year, the higher are they predicted in ninth year, although there is an overall trend for grades to decrease between the two times. For girls the decrease between sixth and ninth grade is bigger than for boys, although the mean grades of boys do not reach that of girls even in ninth year. Higher results on the mental ability test are positively related with gains in mean grades between sixth and ninth year. The interaction term between mean grades in sixth year and scores from the mental ability test seem to reflect that the influence on change in mean grades was multiplied when children were high achievers in both aspects. All our analyses have also included an indicator of being a single mother. The association is in all models solidly negative and significant, but rather weak.

⁵ Separate tests of significance have been generated between all coefficients in Table 4 and can be sent by the author upon request. For the sake of clarity we only present results relevant to our discussion in the text.

invested help with homework does not seem to have yielded gains in mean grades. The influence of attending parents' meetings seems to be reversed for children of parents with a high school degree compared to children whose parents have not gone to high school. Non-attendance in this group predicts higher gains (although not significant when the difference within the high school group is tested separately ($\text{Prob} > F = 0.24$)). We saw in table 2 that parents with high school degree and parents with children having relatively high 6th year mean grades were more likely to attend parents' meetings. Parents with high school degree do not seem to gain much from this, measured by their children's change in mean grades while among children of parents without high school degree, parents' meeting attendance does seem to be linked to higher gains in mean grades. In case this relation would be true, it could be interpreted as a sign of different strategies being employed depending on parents' level of education. For parents' without a high school degree, school-connectivity was either a way of getting confirmation of their high achieving child or a way of supporting their child by keeping updated with school activities. For parents with a high school degree, school connectivity could have been a reactive strategy to employ when the child did not perform as well as perhaps expected.

Turning to the results in the second column of the table the relation between gains in mean grades, parental education and parental involvement are examined in the light of the parent-child relation. Looking at the size of gains it seems as if having a very good parent-child relation generally is linked to greater gains, in both human capital groups and regardless of parental involvement indicator. However, the pattern includes some interesting overlaps. For both involvement indicators we find a nearly consistent negative influence of having a very good parent-child relation. The one exception is children with high school educated parents giving much help with homework. Where parents in this group do not report a very

good relation to their child, children still receive gains in mean grades similar to children in the same human capital group but with a very good parent-child relationship. This indicates a protection for children in the high school group against the effect of having a not very good relation by receiving homework help. The same relation cannot be found for children in the no high school group. Furthermore, in the no high school group, children with a very good parent-child relation are predicted similar gains when parents help with homework and when they do not. Interestingly, these gains are very similar to the predicted gains for children in the high school group who were neither helped much with homework nor enjoyed a very good parent-child relation. Similarly for parents' meeting attendance, children whose parents did not have a high school degree but who combine having a very good parent-child relation with parents' meeting attendance are at level with all children whose parent have a high school degree (when tested separately, significances range from $\text{Prob} > F = 0.07$ to $\text{Prob} > F = 0.90$), except children to high school parents with a very good parent-child relation but who do not attend parents' meetings.

To conclude, our results point toward some bridging points despite the seemingly insurmountable gap between children whose parents have and have not finished high school. Even though parents without high school degree do not share the human capital resources making help with homework particularly efficient they have other opportunities. Keeping a close connection with school, in this case attending parents' meetings is a profitable strategy, and might even, when combined with a very good parent-child relation, in some cases compensate for the lack of human capital. A lack of social capital, in the sense that parents do not help much with homework and the parent-child relation reported is not very good, also seem to lower mean grade gains of children of high school parents to the level of some children of non-high school parents.

Discussion

In this study we have examined whether parents that are involved to the same extent but have different educational background influence their child's educational achievement similarly. As part of that question we first briefly analyzed the influence of parents' educational background on their involvement in their child's education. We looked on two involvement relations that are common in the debate on educational policy and parental responsibilities. In addition, they are commonly used to depict the relationship between social capital of the family and educational outcomes of the offspring, one taking place within the family, and one between parent and school. We also included an indicator of the social capital quality, the interviewed parent's report of the quality of both parents relation to the child, in an attempt to add this dimension to the otherwise rather crude measures of social capital. Our findings, in this first part, suggest that higher educated parents are more involved in their child's education, but that parents' level of education does not influence the quality of their relation to the child.

Going back to Coleman's (1988) theoretical model of social capital, parents' human capital needs to be complemented by social capital in the family in order to be of relevance to the child's educational outcomes. The types of parental involvement measured here, help with home work, parents' meeting attendance and parent-child relation, does not independently reduce the higher performance of children who have more human capital in the family of origin. Parents' level of education was found to carry a rather heavy influence on children's gain in mean grades, much of which was not linked to homework help or parents' meeting attendance. To the extent that these two main social capital indicators did mediate the influence of human capital it was not in a consistent way. Help with home work could

possibly be considered an efficient strategy for parents with high human capital, but we found no relation in families with low human capital. On the other hand attending parents' meetings seemed not to matter to high human capital parents, but could be a profitable strategy for parents with low human capital, if they had a very good relation to their child. More efforts need to be put into understanding what we believe to be the form-specific mechanisms through which different types of parental involvement are related to enhanced achievement.

Our results suggest that the qualitative aspect of social capital within the family may very well be of great importance and influential for the functions of parental involvement. Just as the transmission of human capital from parent to child is conditioned upon the social capital to be found in family relations, functions of social capital, in the form of parental involvement, would be conditioned upon the quality of relation between parent and child. E.g. when higher educated parents did not give homework help and the relation to the child was not very good, the transmission of human capital between generations was hampered. Quality of the parent-child relation also interacted with the parental involvement indicators to reveal greater heterogeneity within the human capital groups and set rocking the human capital effects that proved resilient throughout most of our investigation.

Two questions we recognize as being of special importance for further research are; how do parents choose among involvement strategies, taking the child's previous achievement and the emotional relation into account whilst negotiating among available resources? And, considering the different resources parents have to draw upon, how do we devise more context-specific policy advice for parents and teachers on strategies that can be influential in supporting educational achievement?

References

Table 1 Descriptive statistics (weighted): Full sample and by parent level of education (95 % confidence intervals in parenthesis)

	Full sample	No high school degree	High school degree
<i>Social capital indicators</i>			
Proportion single mothers	0.11	0.12	0.10
Proportion “help with homework”	0.29	0.27	0.34
Proportion “attending PTA-meetings”	0.60	0.58	0.69
Proportion very good parent-child relation	0.56	0.56	0.59
<i>Dependent variable</i>			
Mean grades 9 th year	320	308 (304-311)	358 (352-363)
<i>Control variables</i>			
Mean grades 6 th year	328	317 (314-320)	362 (358-367)
Mean ability test score	70	67 (66-68)	78 (77-79)
Proportion girls	0.50	0.51	0.50
N	3147	2275	872

Proportion differences between the no high school degree and high school degree groups on “help with homework” and “attending PTA-meetings” are significant $p < .05$

Table 2. Coefficients for family and adolescent background predicting parental involvement and parent-child relation (Logit)

	Homework help		PTA-attendance		Parent-child relation	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
Parents have high school degree	0.42***	0.11	0.37***	0.10	0.03	0.10
Single mothers	-0.71***	0.16	-0.43**	0.13	0.67***	0.14
Mean grades 6 th year	-0.16**	0.05	0.24***	0.07	0.17**	0.05
Sex (girl)	0.15	0.09	-0.08	0.09	-0.33***	0.08
Constant	-1.58***	0.20	0.15	0.19	0.66***	0.19

Table 3. Effects of Parental Involvement and Relation Quality on Change in Mean Grades between 6th and 9th year. OLS.

	Coeff	S.E	Coeff.	S.E.
<i>Human capital</i>				
Parents have high school degree	13.27***	2.45	12.79**	2.44
<i>Social capital</i>				
Single mother			-7.36*	3.30
Parents give much help with homework			0.82	2.34
Parents attend PTA-meetings			3.91	2.24
Parent-child relation is very good			9.88***	2.18
<i>Controls</i>				
Mean grades 6 th year (std)	51.55***	1.75	50.75***	1.77
Mental ability test score (std)	14.52***	1.99	14.64***	1.98
Interaction between mean grades 6 th year (std) and mental capacity test score (std)	10.98***	1.42	11.07***	1.42
Sex	-6.04**	2.19	-5.10*	2.19
<i>Constant</i>	307.43***	4.97	299.24***	5.61
	R2=0.52		R2=0.52	

Table 4.				
	Homework help		Homework help and parent-child relation	
No high school	Little homework help		Little homework help - <i>not very good</i> - <i>very good</i>	- 10.72**
	Much homework help	0.22	Much homework help - <i>not very good</i> - <i>very good</i>	-0.71 9.77**
High school	Little homework help	11.04***	Little homework help - <i>not very good</i> - <i>very good</i>	8.63* 23.43**
	Much homework help	17.60***	Much homework help - <i>not very good</i> - <i>very good</i>	26.83*** 21.42***
	Parents' meeting attendance		Parents' meeting attendance and parent-child relation	
No high school	Had not attended	-	Had not attended - <i>not very good</i> - <i>very good</i>	- 8.67*
	Had attended	6.80*	Had attended - <i>not very good</i> - <i>very good</i>	4.63 16.17***
High school	High-low	20.45***	Had not attended - <i>not very good</i> - <i>very good</i>	15.50** 31.47***
	Had attended	16.09***	Had attended - <i>not very good</i> - <i>very good</i>	17.82*** 23.01***